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TO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 189324

PASS LOU SCHWARTZ WITH MANSFIELD PARTY

FOLLOWING REPEAT JAKARTA 9692, SENT HONG KONG, INFO SECSTATE,
LISBON AUGUST 9:

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L JAKARTA 9692

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PT, ID, AS, OREP (MANSFIELD MIKE)

SUBJECT: PORTUGUESE TIMOR: BRIEFING MATERIAL FOR SEN. MANSFIELD

REF: STATE 187310 (NOTAL)

1. THIS CABLE PROVIDES BRIEFING MATERIAL ON PORTUGUESE
TIMOR REQUESTED IN REFTTEL FOR SEN. MANSFIELD.

2. BASIC DATA. POPULATION OF PORTUGUESE TIMOR IS
600,000, MOST OF WHOM LIVE BY SUBSISTENCE AGRICULTURE
IN TRIBAL COMMUNITIES IN INTERIOR OF ISLAND. COLONIAL
ADMINISTRATION IS HEADED BY GOVERNOR WHO IS ARMY MAJOR
AND INCLUDES 600 PORTUGUESE TROOPS AND 2,000 TIMORESE
SOLDIERS. CHINESE, WHO DOMINATE LOCAL COMMERCE, NUMBER
14,000, HALF OF WHOM HOLD TAIWANESE PASSPORTS.

3. PORTUGUESE TIMOR HAS LARGE ANNUAL TRADE DEFICIT (1974
EXPORTS WERE \$5.5 MILLION AND IMPORTS \$12.5 MILLION) AND
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MUST IMPORT MANY BASIC FOODSTUFFS INCLUDING RICE.

COFFEE, COPRA, AND TIMBER ARE MAIN EXPORTS. ANNUAL PER CAPITA INCOME IS ABOUT \$120, STANDARDS OF HEALTH AND EDUCATION ARE LOW, AND ROADS AND OTHER INFRASTRUCTURES ARE LARGELY LACKING. COLONY PRESENTLY SUBSISTS ON \$20 MILLION ANNUAL SUBSIDY FROM GOP AND WERE IT TO BECOME INDEPENDENT, WOULD BE HARD PUT TO MAINTAIN ITSELF UNLESS SUBSTANTIAL GRANT FOREIGN AID FORTHCOMING.

4. INTERNAL SITUATION. FOLLOWING PORTUGUESE MILITARY REGIME'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF INTENTION TO CARRY OUT DECOLONIZATION, THREE PARTIES WERE FORMED IN PORTUGUESE TIMOR IN 1974. FRETILIN, WHICH SUPPORTS FULL INDEPENDENCE, AND TIMOR DEMOCRATIC UNION (UDT), WHICH ORIGINALLY FAVORED CONTINUED ASSOCIATION WITH PORTUGAL BUT NOW ALSO ADVOCATES INDEPENDENCE, ARE BY FAR THE MOST IMPORTANT; AND ESTIMATES DIFFER AS TO WHICH HAS LARGEST NUMBER OF SUPPORTERS. APODETI, A PARTY FAVORING INTEGRATION WITH INDONESIA, IS GENERALLY CONCEDED TO BE RUNNING A VERY POOR THIRD. AN UNKNOWN FACTOR OF POTENTIAL IMPORTANCE ARE TIMORESE SOLDIERY, WHO OCCUPY A PRIVILEGED POSITION UNDER COLONIAL REGIME BUT DO NOT AS YET SEEM TO HAVE INVOLVED THEMSELVES MUCH IN AFFAIRS OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

5. AT A CONFERENCE HELD IN MACAO IN JUNE 1975 BETWEEN PORTUGUESE OFFICIALS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF TIMORESE PARTIES (EXCEPT FRETILIN, WHICH DECIDED AT THE LAST MOMENT NOT TO ATTEND), PLAN WAS PREPARED FOR ENDING PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION BY OCTOBER 1978. THIS WOULD INVOLVE SERIES OF LOCAL ELECTIONS (ALREADY BEGUN) LEADING TO FORMATION OF CONSULTATIVE BODY. IN 1976, GENERAL ELECTIONS WOULD BE HELD FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, WHICH WOULD DECIDE TERRITORY'S FUTURE.

6. EXTERNAL RELATIONS. SINCE WESTERN HALF OF TIMOR IS PART OF INDONESIA, GOI DIRECTLY INTERESTED IN FATE OF PORTUGUESE TIMOR. GOI SPOKESMEN HAVE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT INDEPENDENT TIMOR WOULD BE ECONOMICALLY UNVIALE, POLITICALLY UNSTABLE, AND OPEN TO COMMUNIST CHINESE INFLUENCE THROUGH LOCAL CHINESE POPULATION. (JAKARTA ALSO WORRIED THAT PRIOR TO DECOLONIZATION RADICAL ELEMENTS IN LISBON MAY ABET COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN

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TIMOR.) GOI HAS ANNOUNCED IT WOULD BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT TIMOR AS PART INDONESIA, WHILE AT SAME TIME STATING IT IS PREPARED TO RESPECT WISHES OF COLONY'S POPULATION. HOWEVER, INTEGRATION IS CLEARLY JAKARTA'S OBJECTIVE. GOI IS TRYING TO ACHIEVE THIS BY PERSUADING POPULACE OF PORTUGUESE TIMOR OF ADVANTAGES OF INTEGRATION AND BY OBTAINING THE COOPERATION OF PORTUGUESE AUTHORITIES AND DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT OF AUSTRALIA. HOWEVER, IF PEACEFUL MEANS DO NOT APPEAR TO

BE MAKING HEADWAY DURING NEXT THREE YEARS, POSSIBILITY
REMAINS OF INDONESIAN RESORT TO FORCE, THOUGH THIS DOES NOT
SEEM LIKELY IN NEAR TERM.

7. INDONESIAN HAVE BEEN CARRYING OUT CONCERTED CAMPAIGN
TO WOO PORTUGUESE TIMORESE, THROUGH VISITS OF INDONESIAN
DELEGATIONS TO TIMOR AND TRIPS TO JAKARTA FOR TIMORESELEADERS. THEY H
AVE ALSO MAINTAINED CLOSE TOUCH WITH
PORTUGUESE, WITH WHOM DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS REOPENED AFTER
GAP OF TEN YEARS, AND WITH AUSTRALIANS, WHO FAVOR INTEGRA-
TION WITH INDONESIA BUT HAVE BEEN USING THEIR INFLUENCE
TO URGE THE GOI NOT TO RESORT TO FORCE.

8. THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE INDICATION THAT SOVIETS OR PRC
TAKING MUCH INTEREST IN PORTUGUESE TIMOR. RECENT VISIT OF
UDT LEADER TO TAIWAN TO SEEK ECONOMIC AID SUGGESTS LOCAL
CHINESE POPULATION CONTINUES TO LEAN TOWARD ROC.

9. PROSPECTS. SEVERAL FACTORS APPEAR AS POSSIBLE STUMBLING
BLOCKS TO PEACEFUL AND ORDERLY TERMINATION OF PORTUGUESE
RULE IN TIMOR. GENERAL LACK OF EDUCATION AND POLITICAL
SOPHISTICATION AMONG POPULACE ARE LIKELY TO BE CONTINUING
SOURCE OF BICKERING AMONG LOCAL POLITICAL GROUPS AND WILL
INHIBIT DEVELOPMENT OF CONSENSUS ON SHAPE OF FUTURE REGIME.
ALTHOUGH COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN DILI SEEMS SINCERELY
DEDICATED TO ALLOWING TIMORESE TO MAKE THEIR CHOICE IN
PEACEFUL CONDITIONS, UNCERTAIN POLITICAL SITUATION IN LISBON
MAKES PROBLEMATIC WHETHER GOP WILL HAVE MEANS AND WILL TO
STAY THE COURSE AND TO HOLD TO PRESENT PLAN OF ALLOWING
THREE YEARS TO ARRANGE TRANSITION. WITH MAJORITY SENTIMENT
AMONG SMALL POLITICAL ELITE IN PORTUGRHRV TIMOR AT
PRESENT INCLINED TOWARD INDEPENDENCE, POTENTIAL CLASH
LOOMS WITH INTEGRATIONIST AIMS OF INDONESIA UNLESS GOI IS
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ABLE TO MAKE MORE PROGRESS THAN HERETOFORE IN WINNING
SUPPORT OF POPULACE. U.S. POSITION IS THAT WHILE WE
WELCOME DECOLONIZATION OF FORMER PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES,
WE ARE NOT DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN PORTUGUESE TIMOR AND WILL
ACCEPT ANY OUTCOME AGREED UPON BY PARTIES CONCERNED AND
BY PEOPLE OF TERRITORY. NEWSOM UNQUOTE. SISCO

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